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members of the .... church..... Exhibitions of this kind are far from being limited here to extraordinary holidays, or to the seclusion of by-places. I have seen them in open daylight, in the most public corners of the city, while young [white] females .... hung over the surrounding balconies as spectators.[89]

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The festival here witnessed was probably that of the Rei do Congo ("King of the Congo"). Throughout Brazil, Africans were permitted on occasion to select a king and a queen and to celebrate their coronation with extensive ceremonies. This festival came to be held at the same time as that of the Catholic celebration of Epiphany and to be confused in the minds of the Negroes with it.[90] Of the king and queen, Koster records:

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The personages .... fixed upon may either actually be slaves, or they may be manumitted Negroes. These sovereigns exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects, which is much laughed at by the whites. But their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival. The Negroes of their nation .... pay much respect to them. The man who had acted as their king in Itamaraca (for each district has its king) for several years, was about to resign from old age, and a new chief was to be chosen. He who had been fixed upon for this purpose was an old man and a slave, belonging to the plantation of Amparo. The .... queen would not resign, but still continued at her post. The old Negro who was this day to be crowned, came early in the morning to pay his respects to the vicar, who said to him in a jocular manner, "Well, sir, today I am to wait upon you, and to be your chaplain." About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the church with the vicar. We were standing at the door when there appeared a number of male and female Negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colors and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and as they approached, we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt

[89] Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[90] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256: ".... festa que eles faziam coincidir e confundir com a catolica dos Tres Reis."

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paper, and painted various colors. The king was dressed in an old fashioned suit of divers tints, green, red, and yellow: coat, waistcoat, and breeches. His sceptre, which was of wood and finely gilt, was in his hand. The queen was in a blue silk gown, also of ancient make; and the wretched secretary had to boast of as many colors as his master; but his dress had evident appearances of each portion having been borrowed from a different quarter; for some parts were too tight, and others too wide for him. The expense of the church service was .... provided for by the Negroes .... and .... the vicar .... and his assistant priests were to chant high mass. .... At last their Majesties knelt down at the railing of the principal chapel, and the service commenced. As soon as this was over, the new king was to be installed. But as the vicar who had not breakfasted, though it was now midday, was hungry, he dispatched the matter without much ceremony. He asked for the crown, then went to the church door—the new sovereign presented himself, and was requested, or rather desired, to kneel down. The insignia were given to him; and the vicar then said, "Agora, Senhor Rei, vai te embora" (Now, Sir King, go about thy business). As the king belonged to Amparo, the eating, drinking, and dancing were to be at that place.[34]

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Koster did not witness the subsequent ceremony, but Burton has left an account of a similar one in Minas Geraes:

A score of men, after promenading through the settlement, came to the *Casa Grande*. They were dressed, as they fondly imagined, after the style of the Agua-Rosada House,[35] descended from the great Manikongo and hereditary lords of Congo land. But the toilettes, though gorgeous with colored silks and satins, were purely fanciful, and some wore the Kanitar or plumed head-gear, and the Arasira or waist fringe, and carried the Tacape or tomahawk belonging to the red man. All were armed with sword and shield, except the king, who, in sign of dignity, carried his sceptre, a stout and useful stick. The masked old man, with white beard, trembling underjaw, *chevrotante* voice, and

[34] *Op. cit.*, II, 25–28.

[35] An interesting account of this African dynasty is given, according to Burton, in M. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveler's Life in West Africa* (London, 1861), Vol. II, chap. ii.

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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests."[1]

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But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

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Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung."[2]

[1] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237-38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36-53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mamotes*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[122] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[123] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como *gérè*, como *gérè*
> como *érá*.[124]

Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[125]

[122] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[124] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérè*, I eat *gérè*
I eat *érá*.

[125] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 320–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It
[175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial
period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with
● 17 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar-
*563 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but
567 before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages
175 fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe
*563 social sanctions (1),
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1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would
[113] be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

000 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the